/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
556 any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
565 than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[486] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[456] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[439] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
● [584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women 841 881 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we understood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/216 cont./

• 584 "péwa písaye!" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "ipahíwana'a wahíbalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authíwana tahhíp kobítob' íble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahípa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

[593] [604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his-wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death
765 of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends. /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. The scuffle continues until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

• 584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
●584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[411] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

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[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yanomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Sioux 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yanomamö are "tribal."

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kąobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrDcDcDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yąnomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*628 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*628 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
162 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
562 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
*628 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
584 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
582 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
601 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and
835 began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of
183 the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

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835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Romans and Schneider's work are obvious.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kpobawë was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krëmai, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yanomamë rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yanomamë avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kpobawë, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihana) after having committed incest. Kpobawë himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yawerenou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

613 associated with control over real property in most tribal
421 societies. Among the Yanomamö the corporate estate consists
[562] of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 The relationship between males in regulating the
602 disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for
562 584 their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yanomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional out-
621 side the local descent group. There are no corporate descent
[614] [616] groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yanomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

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[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of coresident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yanomamö, the generation of grand-
[603] fathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

613 162 In addition to genealogical distance and size of descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or all females. Since Yąnomamö kinship terminology is classificatory (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 602 *621 • 584 582 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
621 support within the village, he is under obligation to them
584 and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]
582

621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
562 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
584 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be
736 rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

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[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

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[1] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2] By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

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[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyabobowei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobowei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobowei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobowei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

[721]

Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*623 613 591 583 606 Koima, a girl of some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawë, a young man from Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawë had already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawë wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawë began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawë was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter, provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however, refused to go to Rerebawë, suspecting that he would not keep his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead, Bikotawë, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with Bikotawë, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated Rerebawë, who challenged Bikotawë to a club fight. Bikotawë belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was agnatically related to the members of the headman's descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bikotawë's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bikotawë's supporters had no claims. Rerebawë's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bikotawë was, in effect, having an

* 587 583 591 578 585 613 *614 627 (626)

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Momou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Ururicaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

628 581 609 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

609 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwĕ ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwĕ are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwĕ ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwĕ is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

121 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yanomamö descent 121 groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition 613 of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, 608 [611] as well as live in the same village with them. Both the im- [624] portance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yanomamö [584] descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *separate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members.[19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of those men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.